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313 476 571 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather than social lines.

II. DURATION OF GROUP. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 476 571 ● 157 III. STRUCTURE OF GROUP (RELATIONSHIP). With thirty individuals, unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute then." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina,* under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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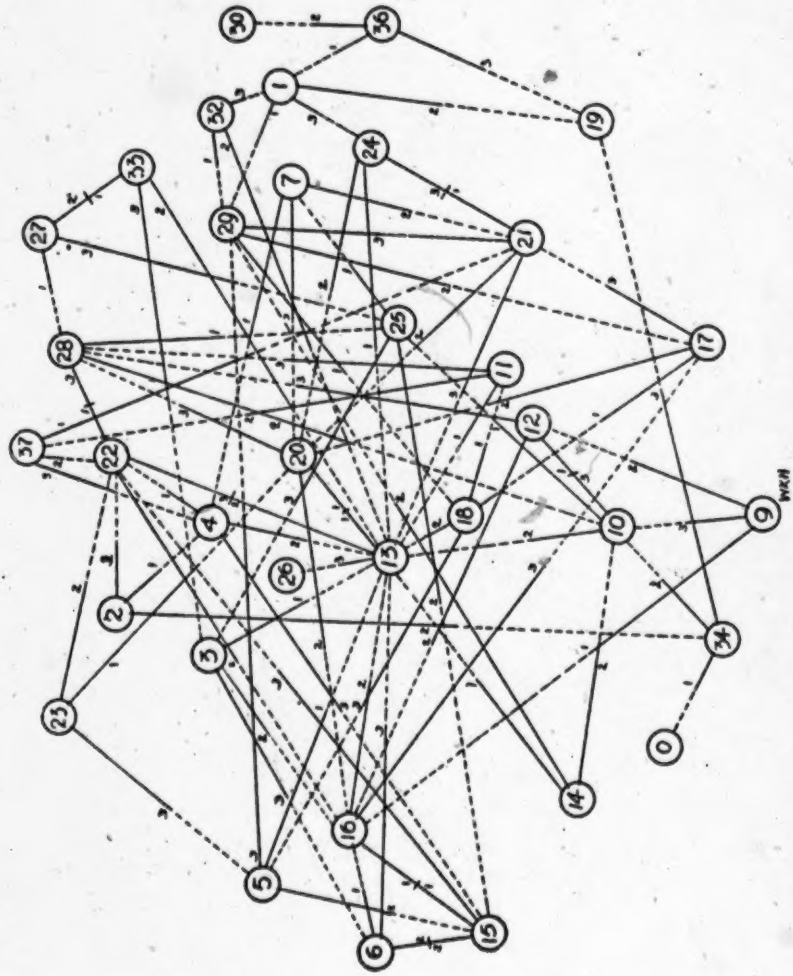

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

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While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Chose	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	5
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[1] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[a]

I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[b] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[a] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[b] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

1 [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author; see pp. 250-256, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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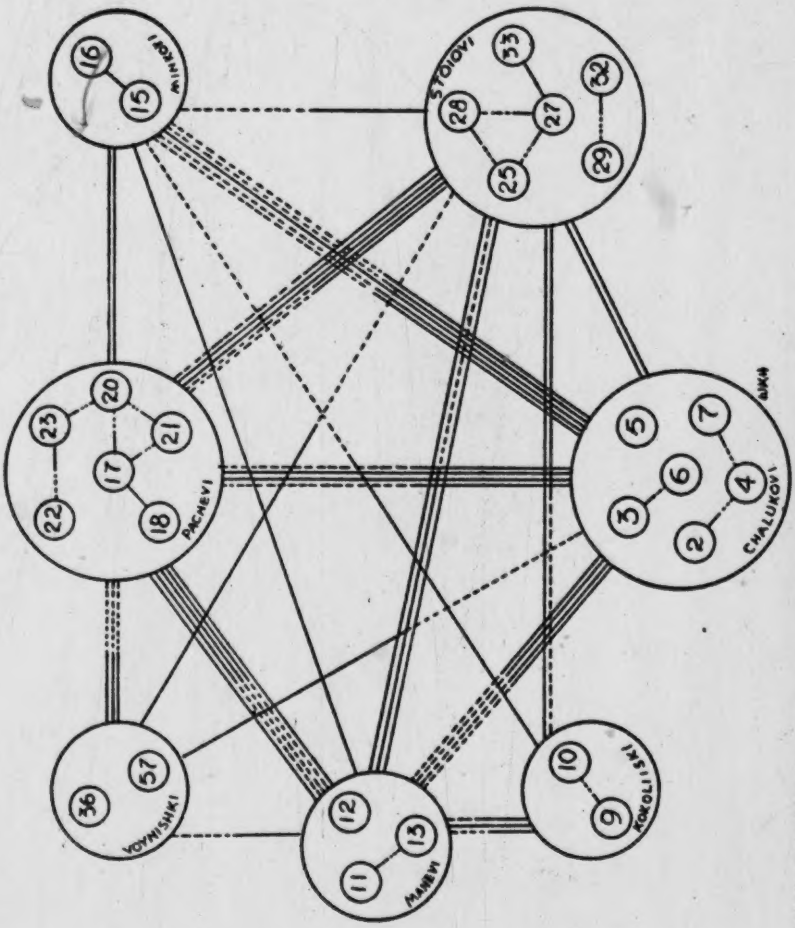

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval.

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting.

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

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181 that he need not stand on ceremony with it since it has
641 mercilessly exploited him. He is generally a man who will abide by his promise but he expects that others will likewise do so, and it is very often disregard for assumed obligations that leads the Bulgarian to wreak savage vengeance on the person who breaks a compact.

181 In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian people have been
157 subjected for centuries to a rigorous negative selection, for all outstanding personalities were either exterminated by the Turks with whom they necessarily entered in conflict, or became denationalised by offering their services to more advanced nations, in the midst of which they alone could exert their talents, they, nevertheless may be considered as intellectually one of the most gifted of the Balkan peoples.

The value of a people is not gauged by the level of the average individual, but by that of the exceptional men belonging to it; such at least is the opinion of leading sociologists such as Dr. G. le Bon, and Wm. Mc. Dougall so that in this respect Bulgarians have little cause to envy their neighbours. The appearance of exceptional individuals amongst the Bulgarian people has been noted even by Prof. Jovan Cvijić, who writes in his „La Peninsule Balkanique", p. 479:

„De cette très ancienne histoire il y a un fait à retenir, c'est l'apparition d'individus doués d'une volonté extraordinairement puissante. . . La prépondérance de ces fortes individualités nous frappe encore dans les époques plus récentes de l'histoire bulgare. même après la liberation. Le personnage le plus representatif à cet égard fut Stefan Stambulov. Les politiciens bulgares paraissent doués d'une force de volonté plus agissante que ceux des autres types yougoslaves etc"

If in one generation from amongst five million Bulgarians, arose at least three men of genius such as Slaveikoff, Vazoff and Mihailovski this proves that the Bulgarians are a stock worth conserving, not only for

itself, but also on account of the good that humanity might ultimately derive from the flowering of such genius as may arise from its midst. Many will retort that the above mentioned men though talented can in no way be considered as geniuses, but this assertion is obviously refutable, for one in forming a true appreciation of their value should first of all take into consideration the environment in which these men were nurtured. If in spite of the stunting influences which they encountered in the midst of which they have developed, they nevertheless attained such an indisputable preeminence, it cannot be denied that these men must have possessed exceptional mental attainments.

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LITERATURE AND ART

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There are few peoples who in such a brief space of time have equalled the achievements of the Bulgarians in the domain of literature. Without any literary or artistic traditions, except perhaps for the writings of the poet-revolutionary, Christo Botev, without even a literary language, the Bulgarians within the half century of their independent existence as a State, have attained to a level of development in the realm of letters of which many older nations would have justly been proud, and which more than the remarkable material progress accomplished by them, marks them out as a higly endowed people worthy of our admiration and esteem.

Several decades ago, the translation into English of Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke", proved a revelation and evoked the unstinted applause of all critics. No less a person that Edmund Gosse wrote a most eulogious preface to the book. Yet this was one of Vazov's early works, written at a time he had not yet attained maturity,